2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. 287, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obeg or Obugi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Kiir Anfili, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the mold, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked thus, 'Nyikang, why do you stop?' Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the mold will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the mold broke away. Then Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ombi, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Dwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are nursed in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which in, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep besides. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *lâgo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise. BLACKSMITHS 326 [171 565] 439 [461] 177 326

An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap. OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is practised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc. 285 462

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl- 321

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

283 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the dom palm.

BOATS 501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tiresome work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the ambach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

[462]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 534 281 322 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called *pen* and a wind instrument consisting in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and braced with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The *pen* is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of raw cow hide is stretched wet over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of tendons of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by wetting these strings and tightening or loosening them about the crosspiece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping.

323 [462] [415] [376] 53] POTTERY *Pottery* is the handicraft of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, heads for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-heads are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating the fields.

FOOD

The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread (*kuya*), roasted, brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

Besides dura they eat sesame, dochn, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as dolelb, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it. They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted; they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Masai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

BREWING OF BEER

A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merisa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Thus it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A Second Report on Housebuilding.

By R. W. Tidrick, of Doleib Hill.

Housebuilding among the Shullas[1] is a trade which comparatively few men learn, whether it is because apprentices are discouraged from learning it, or whether they do not want to learn, or cannot learn the trade well, I do not know. A well constructed tukl is neat and of really fine appearance. Dwelling houses are usually of the same size, conical in shape, walls of mud, sometimes reinforced with poles or corn stalks. The roofs are thatched with two kinds of grass. Family class prescribes which kind may be used in thatching the house.

Every adult member of the family as a rule has a part in construction. The women cut and carry in the grass and corn stalks and bring the water for mixing the mud for the walls. The men bring in the poles for the roof, make the rope, mix and carry the mud and do the real building of the house.

The material is usually collected for some time beforehand. Grass is cut and cooked, poles are brought from the timber and by wetting and heating are brought into the proper shape for rafters. Large circular bands for bracing the rafters and tying the thatch and grass to are made of withs of long coarse grass wrapped closely with rope. The rope for their use and for tying the grass down is made from a tall grass that has a long sheath. The grass is cut and brought in, and these sheaths are stripped off and after being soaked in water are bruised with clubs until the fiber comes apart easily. It is then dampened and twisted into rope. The rope maker sits on the ground holding the rope between his toes, and forms the rope by constantly adding new fiber and rolling the rope between the palms of his hands. It is made two-ply about one fourth of an inch thick.

The mud is prepared by mixing manure, ashes or fine broken dry grass with sandy earth. The mixing is done with the feet. The first step in construction is naturally the foundation. This is made by digging a shallow circular trench where the wall is to stand. The men carry the mixed mud in their hands, which must be quite stiff, and drop it in the trench. The builder forms it into the desired shape with his hands. A layer about six inches deep is put on at a time. But two or three layers a day are added. A little above the foundation an elliptical band of grass about three feet in depth is put in place to form the door. As the wall is built up the mud is built against this, which retains its form leaving the door the desired shape. Later the grass is removed. Toward the top the wall is flanged out like the mouth of a bell to receive the roof. Few houses have windows; when windows are made, they are scarcely six inches in diameter. In forming the roof the first step is the same as for the wall: a shallow circular trench is dug with the same circumference as the inner

[1] I. e. Shilluks.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Kinds of white dura.

ɟɔ̀l is very long in ripening. *àlwɔ̀k* maize.
mɛ̀r has a longer ear than *ɟɔ̀l*. *rɔ̀wɔ̀* Duchn (panic grass).
àlwɛ̀ɟɛ̀ "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

lɛ̀k-dɛ́ɛ́, nɛ̀dɛ̀, àɟɛ̀rɛ̀k, ɔfyɛ̀t lyɛ̀ɛ̀k ("kills the elephant"), *nɔ̀lɔ̀, dɛ̀ɛ̀l, ɔlɛ̀ɛ̀k-mɛ̀ɛ̀k, nɛ́mɛ̀ɟɛ̀, ɔwɛ̀t, nɛ̀ɟɛ́ɛ́nɛ́, dɛ̀kɛ́ɛ̀k, ɔ́lwɛ́.*

The stalks of many of the white duras are sucked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red dura.

The common name for red dura is: *lwɔ̀ɟ.*

ɛ́ɟɛ̀rɛ̀, wɛ́ɟɛ̀l-fɔ́-dɟwɛ̀, wɛ́ɟɛ̀l-fɔ́-nɛ́nɛ́rɛ̀, ɛ̀ɟɛ̀ɟɛ́ ("the Nubian"?), *nɛɟɛ́-fɛ́ɛ́ti-dwɛ́ɛ́, nɛ́ɛ́ɟɛ́nɛ̀, ɛ́ɟɔ̀, ɛɟɛ́ɛ̀ɟ, ɛ́wɛɟɛ́k, nɛ̀ɟfɛ́ɟɟɛ́nɛ̀, àlwɔ́ɟ, bwɔ́nɛ̀* ("of the white man"), *ɔ́lwɛɟnɟ, ɔ́mɛ̀ɟrɛ̀, wɛ́ɛ́ɔ̀* ("lion's eye") *wɛ́nɔ́ɟɔ̀k* ("crow's eye") *wɔ́rɔ́u, nɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɟɛ̀, nɛ̀ɟɟmɛ̀-bwɔ̀k, ɔwɛ́ɛ́, nɛ̀ɟflwɛ̀ɟɛ̀, ɟɪɟɛ̀rɛ̀ɟmɛ* ("sheep-tail"), *ɟɪɟɛ̀ɟlɟɛ́* ("horse-tail"), *nɛ̀ɟɟ, ɛ̀dɛ́ɛ̀l.*

Agriculture Among The Shullas.[1]

By R. W. Tidrick, of Doleib Hill.

The Shullas have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades has his lordship, the Shulla man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the woman. Her hoe was made from the shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the shin or rib bones of these animals.

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the chase and raid. The old men idled their time away in the village.

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Shulla to a larger tillage of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the murderers and plunderers from down the Nile.

One man when questioned as to the food of the people in his boyhood days said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was as much truth as sarcasm in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Shulla women gather grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rob the ants of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by bruising and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp.

[1] i. e. Shillukh.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

replied: "Not so! did you not say yesterday: what is the water for?" The man went out, he called his wife's father. When the father came, he said to him: "Ask your daughter (what has happened), and then give me my cows." The father asked: "Why?" He said: "Just ask her!" He asked the girl, saying: "Girl, how is this? The man says he wants his cattle back!" She replied: "I don't know." The father said: "You cursed girl, tell me all about it!" So she told: "Yesterday I brought water, then he said: 'What is that water for?' That is the matter. Then I went out." The father said: "All right." The woman continued: "In the night he was troubled with hunger, therefore they went to steal corn; in the meantime I brought the food, and saw that they were gone. Is not that the matter? And then, when they were eating, one said to the other: 'Brother, what a big corn-ear you have!' Then I said: 'Here am I!' And he said: 'You cursed woman, loosen my cattle!' And I replied: 'Dear me, was it not you who refused yesterday saying: what is the water for?' Is not that the whole matter? I brought food, and he cursed!'" After that the father of the girl said to the husband of his daughter: "Why did you steal? How is that? Restore me my corn which you have stolen!" [1] The man said: "Why? why was I left hungry?" The father only replied: "You are a thief! I will give you back your cattle." — When the husband heard that, he brought an ox for reconciliation, with that he reconciled, he reconciled his father-in-law, and so the matter was settled.

21. The Husband who wanted to cook.

Jal wâŋ ɛ́ bîda guɔ̀ŋ; ka kîpa ɟîne gɔ́l̀ kíne: í, nân, ya líŋa ɟal![2] *Ka ŋane ɟuɔkŋ ka: dîɔh! Ka e ko: bîɔ̀k, ɟîl dîɔh ɟn! ɟîŋ yíga mɔ́chwɛ́ yí ɟîl. Ká è ɟîdɔ. Ka e kɛ̀ɟɔ, ka kwɔ̀a ŋ̀wɛ́, ka ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀ ɟwɔ̀ra mɔ́l, ka gɔ ɛ́ yɔ́rɛ̀, ka gɔ ɛ́ kîɲɛ́ pɛ́ɛ́. Ka kwɔ̀a ɔ̀kɛ̀gɔ, ka wíy pɛ́ɛ́ rum yí pɔ́gɔ, ka kwɔ̀a tîɔ̀ŋ, ka lwɔ́l dwɔ̀ŋ tîɔ̀a ŋa-gɔ́l gɔ́n. Ka wɔ̀a a gîɲɛ wɔ́ŋ̀gɔ̀; ka e bîɔ̀ɔ̀ gɔ́n ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀.*[3]

Ka gín chɔm a ɟum kí chɔm, e bîɔ̀ɔ̀ yɛ́n, ka nɔ́n a ɟuɔkŋ kɛ́ɟa wɔ̀k, ka pɛ́ɛ́ ŋwɔ̀ŋ̀, ka gɔ́ yɔ́dɔ́ ɛ́ tîɔ̀k, ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀ ɟwɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ. Kíne: bîɔ̀, ŋ ya ɟiɔk adí? Ka ɛ́ bwɔ̀ŋ́ pɛ́ɛ́, ka ɛ́ ɟwɔ̀ɔ̀ɟa mɔ́l, ka ɛ́ gɛ́gɔ, kíne: bɔ́k, kɛ́! Kwɔ̀ɔ̀p a ɔ̀ɛ́ɛ́ dwɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ́. Ka wa gɔ́ɔ́ gɔ́n ko: á gín ɓáŋ́? Kíne: í, ɟɔ́ɔ̀ gín ɛ́ kwɔ̀ɔ̀p! mí ŋa-ɟîŋ, chwɔ̀la: ɛ́ chɛ́ɛ́ chwɔ̀la yí ɛ́ chîɛ́ɛ́ ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀, ka ɟîda gín chɔm a tin, a ŋ̀ɟɔ ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀ pɛ́ɛ́. Kɔ́ɔ́ gwí anán, dɛ́ chwɔ̀la gín chɛ́ɛ́ yí ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀. A bîɔ̀ɔ̀ ŋan a ɟuɔkŋ kíne: wíy ŋ̀ɓɛ, yí ŋɔ́ɔ̀ mɔ́ɛ́ ŋɛ́ ɔ̀kɔ́n? Yɔ fɛ dîɔ́ɔ́ ɟal kîɲɛ. Kɔ́ɔ́ gwí anɔ́ɔ́; a ɟuɔ́ŋ́ ŋan a ɟuɔkŋ mɔ́l, a ɟîɔ́ɔ́ gín chɔm, a ɔ̀kɔ́mɛ́ ka chɛ́ɛ́ŋ́ wɔ́ɲɔ̀.

A certain man was very thin, and he said to his wife: "I say, my wife, I will cook in place of you." The woman said: "All right!" He said (to himself): "Why, cooking is a good thing, a man grows fat from cooking." So he cooked.

[1] The man had — without knowing it — stolen the corn of his father-in-law.
[2] "I will cross (over)", or: "do (also, cooking)": I will cook also, instead of you.
[3] He remained thinking of the food.

3: Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

462 539

He went and poured much water on the flour (to make bread), so that the foam floated on the surface. He skimmed the foam off and put it into the hole near the grinding-stone. When the bread was done, he covered the hole with a skin, and the bread he put into a large gourd for his wife, and what was left (in the pot), he scratched out for the children. (He did not take any food for himself, because) he was thinking of the foam. (He thought the foam was the best of the food, therefore he reserved it for himself).

When his people had finished eating, he sat quite still, waiting till his wife had gone out. Then he uncovered the hole and saw that the foam had gone, it had dried off! He said: "Dear me! what shall I do now?" He lay down, he got up again, he was quite perplexed. He could not say one word ("talk refused to return"). His wife asked: "What is the matter?" He answered: "Why, it is not a thing to be told; mother of my children, I thought because you are so fat, I thought it was because you used to eat foam, so I cooked the food today, and I put the foam into the hole. That is the matter. I thought you were so fat from eating foam. His wife said: "Father of my child, what greediness has been troubling you?" He replied: "I shall never cook again." That is it. The woman arose and cooked food, he ate, and was pleased.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca.1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed.

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox.

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips.

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him.

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion.

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing-floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 512 857 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

[556] Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 512 883 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

[226] Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

241 462 512 [361] At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 512 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

[361] 392 [415] 480 Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes.

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours.

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk.

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord!

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night.

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours.

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but
[562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from
593] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462] The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

[726] They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[787] They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the King is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person,
776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the
756 spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they made answer. The spirit then said: «I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lives». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases.

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men-servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast.

When a servant of a king begs he says: «The king is begging you», and if his requests are modest they are granted.

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief.

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer.

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people.

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

342 Meanwhile a shallow pit is dug nearby, and to the broken soil sand and water are added, the mixture being puddled by vigorous treading till it has the consistency of a thick, sticky paste. When the rope weaving is finished, this mud paste is plastered on the wall within and without at the same time, until the whole is a solid mass about a foot thick. Another party of men is busy in the meantime preparing the framework of the roof; the older men make six thick rings of grass completely bound around with rope, graded from twelve feet to one foot in diameter; the younger men select six straight tree branches about seven feet long and as thick as a man's arm, and bind these to the largest of the grass rings with rope to form the base of a cone. The remaining rings are then tied inside the cone from base to apex which is then overlaid with millet stalks, securely fastened, and the framework is now complete and ready for lifting on to the top of the wall. These various stages of the operation are marked by the drinking of beer; the bowls are first filled when the mud is slapped on to the wall, a second time when the walls are finished off, and lastly when the roof is secured in its place. This marks the end of community labour, for the thatching can be done by one man assisted by a boy to throw the bundles of grass up to him.

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342 The thatcher begins at the base of the roof tying bundles of fine grass around the edge to form the eaves; the bundles overlap and hang about a foot over the edge of the framework. Sheaves of coarser grass are laid over these and fastened into position by rope laced through the millet stalks of the framework; at the apex the grass is gathered to a point, tightly bound with rope and neatly trimmed off. When the thatching is done, the women clean up the floor inside the hut and smooth it over with mud so that it has a firm, cement-like surface, and the house is then ready for occupation. This is a typical Shilluk dwelling; the king's own house may be a little better built and more elaborately thatched, but it will not differ in size or construction from this. Tradition must be observed, and as long as the king is content to live in a round house with mud walls, no window and only

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventilation of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window.

The Shilluk is a fine fisherman, adept in the use of harpoon, fishing spear and net. The harpoon he uses consists of a loose barbed head of iron which is fitted into the socket of a long bamboo pole to which it is attached by a length of thin but extremely strong twine. When a large fish is caught on the barb, it jerks the head from the socket, and is then played by the fisherman until he is able to finish it off with his fish spear. The spear itself is normally used in the shallows of the river or swamp; the man casts it repeatedly into the soft mud as he walks along, hoping to spear the mud fish which lie in great numbers under the surface.

The use of the net by an expert is a delightful thing to watch; the net is large, fine-meshed and circular in shape, weighted round the edge with pieces of lead. The fisherman gathers it in folds over one arm and casts it with a clean, effortless sweep; it falls lightly on the water in a perfect circle, sinks slowly to the bottom and then is slowly gathered in. If it is empty, it is folded and cast again with the same easy, graceful motion.

Fishing is done all the year round by individuals, but the real season is from March to May when the river and the large inland water-courses (the khors) are at their lowest level. During this time several villages will combine together to fish a certain khor, and as women as well as men join in, it becomes a real community effort. The day before that appointed for the fishing, men will go to the khor and block up its outlets, then on the day itself there is a general exodus from the villages, the men carrying harpoons and spears, and canoes if the river has to be crossed, the women carrying heavy nets, and cooking pots too if the start is early. Arrived at the khor, the women fix the nets on poles firmly pushed into the deep mud, side by side, right across one end, leaving no way of escape. The men line up abreast at the other end and move slowly towards the nets, thrusting into the mud

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

funeral or some such occasion calling for special feasting. 231
It would tax the ingenuity of a European to devise a system, and keep a battery of clerks in constant employment and a filing cabinet in constant use to keep an up-to-date check on the wanderings of the various animals of any one bride-herd. Not so with the simple Shilluk however. Inside his woolly head—admittedly not particularly concerned with anything that does not pertain to cattle—he keeps all the details of each individual cow in his herd. He knows all their comings in and goings out, all their risings up and their sittings down. Each cow has a special and distinctive colour and each colour a special and distinctive name and he knows them all and can describe them in detail. He can tell you offhand the life history of any cow; its previous owners as it passed from dowry to dowry eventually to become a member of his, and when he has parted with it, he follows its subsequent career with unflagging interest, can name the various people who have had it since it left his ownership and knows just where it can be found at any given time. [181]

Our young benedict is now happily married and settled 593
down to a life of connubial bliss. But among the Shilluk, as among their more sophisticated Western brethren, the course of true love does not always run smooth. The lady, who in the eyes of her lord is a mere chattel, something that he has bargained and paid for, must prove that she is up to standard. [562]
Not indeed that a Shilluk wife becomes the absolute slave of her husband, bearing all the burdens of the day and the heats, while he passes the rest of his days in slothful idleness. Far from it. Both have their recognized duties and one will [462]
assist the other should occasion call for it; thus the wife will at times assist her husband with the planting, weeding and reaping, whilst he does not consider it beneath his dignity to nurse the baby while his spouse is making the daily trip to the river for water, or to sit for hours monotonously agitating a gourd of milk in the hope that eventually it will turn into butter. But the primary duty of a Shilluk wife is to become a 586
Shilluk mother, and if perchance she proved to be barren

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

paid for on the spot. But the Reverend Pooh-Bah leaves them for the time being and goes off on the first tour of inspection. He meets the sand carriers on their way from the sand pit to the brickfield, and his suspicions are aroused by the easy and jaunty manner in which they are carrying the baskets which should be at least half full of sand. Examination of the first basket reveals just a couple of inches of sand in the bottom. The rest of the girls—for the sand carriers are ladies—don't wait to be inspected, but shrieking with laughter scamper off back to the sand pit where he follows them and ensures that they carry one legitimate load at least. Then having threatened the bearers with all kinds of penalties if they don't bring a proper load each time, he goes off to inspect the bricks. The moulders and their assistants are really putting their backs into it, for the more bricks they make, the more money they will earn, and already there are long double lines of newly made bricks stretching out in front of each man. In one case it is a matter of more haste, less speed, for yesterday's output belonging to one man has gaped and split in the hot sun, a sign that the mud has been badly mixed and the puddling has been scamped. These useless ones are rejected and the number deducted from the culprit's total. The missionary leaves the erring team vehemently arguing the matter among themselves, since a man from the hut-plastering squad comes along to tell him that they are held up for lack of water, and that the water carriers have been gone long enough to have made several journeys. He goes back to the house to get his bicycle, and ignoring the clamour that the pole and rope carriers set up at his appearance, speeds down to the river. The cart is there all right, half-way down the path, but there is no sign of the men who are supposed to be filling the drum. He spots one of them, almost hidden in the tall grass, engaged in washing himself, and a splashing a little further down reveals the presence of the other two happily employed in casting for mud fish. In a remarkably short space of time, however, they have the drum filled and are hastening back to the waiting plasterers, the irate Father grimly bringing up the rear.